

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
IO-13 ACDA-12 SAA-01 /092 W
-----092835 121332Z /11

R 111225Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2580
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 5080

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, PORG, TU, GR
SUBJ: DEMILITARIZED GREEK ISLANDS

REF: ATHENS 5712

1. THE GREEK POSITION DESCRIBED IN REFTEL CONTAINS A
NUMBER OF WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE SIGNIFICANT FALLACIES
ABOUT TURKEY:

--"EXPANSIONIST" TURKEY: AS WE HAVE
PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, AN EXPANSIONIST MOVEMENT SIMPLY DOES
NOT EXIST IN TURKEY. NO PROMINENT ORGANIZATION OR LEADER
ADVOCATES EXPANSIONISM. TURKS ARE AWARE OF--AND
GENERALLY SMILE AT--WHAT THEY BELIEVE ARE GREEK DREAMS OF RECAPTUR-
ING CONSTANTINOPLE, BUT THERE IS NO CORRESPONDING TURKISH
DREAM ABOUT GREEK TERRITORY.

--"...THE TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS--A VIVID
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MANIFESTATION IN THEIR EYES OF TURKISH AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS...":
BETWEEN THE TIME ATHENS SENT GRIVAS TO THE ISLAND IN 1955
TO WIN CYPRUS FOR GREECE, AND THE TIME THE JUNTA OVERTHREW
MAKARIOS IN 1974, TURKEY CONSIDERS THAT IT WAS SERIOUSLY PROVOKED
ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS. THE BASIC CAUSE OF
THE 1974 INTERVENTION WAS THE CUMULATIVE POLITICAL EFFECT OF
THOSE PROVOCATIONS: IT WOULD HAVE BEEN VERY DIFFICULT FOR ANY

TURKISH LEADER TO HAVE REFRAINED FROM INTERVENING UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES.

--"...THE TURKISH INVASION WOULD HAVE FAILED
IF THE GREEK CONTINGENT HAD NOT BEEN REMOVED FROM CYPRUS IN

1967": WHAT WAS REMOVED WAS NOT THE GREEK CONTINGENT
BUT BETWEEN EIGHT AND 12 THOUSAND ILLEGAL GREEK NATIONAL TROOPS
WITH US WEAPONS. IT WAS NOT THEIR PRESENCE BUT THEIR WITH-
DRAWAL THAT PREVENTED A TURKISH INTERVENTION IN 1967.

--"THREATENING STATEMENTS ON THE AEGEAN":
TURKISH STATEMENTS STRESSING A DESIRE FOR GOOD REGIONAL
RELATIONS OUTNUMBER BY SEVERAL TIMES THE OUTDATED
STATEMENTS USUALLY CHARACTERIZED BY THE GREEKS AS "THREATENING".

--"ANNEXATION OF ALEXANDRETTA": TURKEY
ANNEXED THE ALEXANDRETTE (HATAY) IN 1939 BY INTERNATIONAL
AGREEMENT, THE SAME MECHANISM BY WHICH GREECE ANNEXED
THE DODECANESE EIGHT YEARS LATER.

2. ON THE LAUSANNE TREATY ISSUE, WE UNDERSTAND THE FACTS ARE THAT
THE 1936 MONTREUX CONVENTION SUPERSEDED THE 1923 LAUSANNE
CONVENTION (CONVENTION RELATING TO THE REGIME OF THE STRAITS),
NOT THE LAUSANNE TREATY; IT THUS NULLIFIED THE LAUSANNE
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CONVENTION'S DEMILITARIZATION OF THE ISLANDS OF LEMNOS AND
SAMOTHRACE BUT DID NOT AFFECT THE PROVISIONS OF THE LAUSANNE
TREATY ITSELF. ARTICLE 13 OF THE LAUSANNE TREATY
(DEMILITARIZATION OF LESVOS, CHIOS, SAMOS, AND IKARIA) DOES NOT BY
ITSELF ESTABLISH A MILITARY BALANCE. THE ARTICLE DOES NOT IMPOSE
ANY RECIPROCAL OBLIGATIONS EXCEPT THE BANNING OF GREEK MILITARY
FLIGHTS OVR ANATOLIA AND TURKISH FLIGHTS OVER THE FOUR GREEK
ISLANDS; ALL OTHER PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 13 APPLY UNILATERALLY TO
GREECE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMBAT OPERATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978ANKARA05080
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780285-0551
Format: TEL
From: ANKARA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780777/aaaacmig.tel
Line Count: 104
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 2d0fcf77-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 ATHENS 5712
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2059037
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEMILITARIZED GREEK ISLANDS
TAGS: PARM, PORG, TU, GR
To: ATHENS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/2d0fcf77-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014